

In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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Deals With Enemy

STANDARD Oil Co's subsidiaries are carrying gasoline to both sides in the European War, also to Japan, Rep John M Coffee charges in several speeches in the House. Regarding the proposed loan of \$100,000,000 to Fascist Spain "evidently at the suggestion of the British Foreign Office, in the hope thereby to bribe Spain into neutrality," Coffee adds that although this was denied by State Dep't, the US loaned "a similar sum to the Argentine Republic, while the Argentine incidentally loaned an equivalent amount of money and/or merchandise of its equivalent to Fascist Spain."

Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Independent Senators and Representatives read IN FACT, Senator Nye has contributed a news item to its columns. Rep Coffee writes: "This magazine, IN FACT, is portraying in unvarnished language the truth concerning national and international developments, which is so often distorted or denied to the news-hungry American public by existing, and all-too-frequently reactionary, daily and periodical publications of these United States." Senator Langer wrote: "I am much interested and believe if you could get a large circulation it would do a tremendous amount of good."

Prof Accuses Press

THE American Society of Newspaper Editors is not as venal, mercenary or dollar-minded as the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and precedes the latter a few days in annual convention. It also permits some honest criticism, whereas the publishers devote considerable time to strikebreaking.

On April 17 the ASNE heard Prof Peter H Odegard, who first published the charge that the National Electric Light Ass'n had a \$25,000,000 annual bribery and corruption fund for manufacturing public opinion, largely through corrupting the press, speak some bitter truths about the press today. For example:

"In too many cases newspapers worry about their power when they had better be worried about their principles.

"The major threat to freedom of the press . . . comes not from external compulsion or governmental censorship but from timidity and the internal pressures. . . .

"Do you think the enemies of organized labor would be given preferred treatment in news columns and editorials if labor unions as a regular thing bought display advertising?

"Do you think the virtual blackout of the LaFollette committee findings and the highlighting of the Dies Committee 'revelations' were unrelated to the prejudices of advertisers and their publisher acolytes?

"Do you want me to believe that the

American War Entry Awaits Public Opinion; Pro-Convoy Campaign Launched Before US Publishers

(Editorial Note: There is talk in Washington about American entry into the war in May; it is based on the present patrol system or "escort" for American cargoes, which will precede real convoying. April 21 IN FACT told its readers that they would know when the US enters war, when blood as well as treasure will flow, by watching for convoys. IN FACT quoted Roosevelt: "Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war." Since then convoys have become Page 1 news. In this issue IN FACT presents the facts about the part the American press must play to prepare the nation for war—or keep us out.)

EVIDENCE is at hand that the administration, seeking to change public opinion to favor entry into the war, opened its campaign with Sec'y of Navy Frank Knox's speech before the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

The fate of the American people therefore will depend largely on the men who create and channel public opinion, the same small but powerful group of editors and publishers who had much to do with US entry into World War I.

April 24 will probably go down in American history as an important date, comparable to sinking of the Laconia in 1917. Said the NYTimes in its summary: "Indications that the United States Government is preparing American opinion for the major step of convoying war materials to Great Britain emerged last night in speeches delivered by Secretaries Hull and Knox." It was actually the Knox address to the assembled publishers which is regarded in Washington as the "trial balloon." If the press goes all out for convoys, and the opinion polls swing accordingly, nothing can stop America from entering the bloodshed phase of the undeclared war.

How Newspaper Readers Can Judge

Newspapers readers throughout the country can judge for themselves whether or not we are entering the bloodshed part of the war, by watching:

- 1) Newspaper headlines on convoys.
- 2) Play given pro- or anti-convoy news stories.
- 3) Congressional speeches, pro and con; which side gets headlines.
- 4) Interviews with celebrities, features stories, reports on peace meetings, editorial advice from columnists, as well as editorials. If your hometown paper plays down or omits, plays up or overplays certain items, for or against convoys, you will know how public opinion is being made, for or against war entry.

For example, here is the foremost newspaper in America, the NYTimes, April 26. Page 1, 5-col headline: US WILL PATROL WIDER SEA AREAS. 1-col: GREENLAND ALARM. President Hears Nazis May Be There Now. 1-col: WILLKIE DEMANDS WE GUARD CARGOES. Page 4, tiny head, 2-inch story, on Wheeler's statement that convoy story is a trial balloon to see "if American people will stand for convoys." Small head, tiny story, on Dr John Haynes Holmes accusing FDR of betraying people into war. Page 5, tiny head, 7000 joining Lindbergh's America First. Editorial page: editorial asks, "What does the country think?" and says "One closely watched barometer of its opinion is the (Gallup) survey." Of report that 41% are for, 50% opposed to convoys, Times adds "these estimates reflect the results of a survey begun several weeks ago"; it finds the 71% yes votes if Britain is certain of defeat, more important; and concludes, "The clear moral of these figures is that if the President is waiting for the country, the country is also waiting for the President. It is waiting for him to tell it . . . just how serious is this threat. . . . We believe that if the President takes the public fully into his confidence . . . he will find a top heavy majority ready to support the use of convoys. For we trust the sound commonsense of the American people."

This single issue of a powerful paper has everything: it has sensational headlines, overplayed items, underplayed items, and an editorial policy. Whether the reader agrees with the Times or not he should realize this important fact: that this is the sort of journalism which rules America, that this is the sort of journalism which makes war, peace, neutrality, hysteria, labor-baiting, red-baiting, etc, etc. It manufactures public opinion.

(Cont. wide column page 2)

War or Peace Depends Largely on Press

Whether or not the US Navy and Army participate in this war, it is generally admitted, depends on the outcome of the present attempt to swing public opinion. Of all the forces—press, radio, movies, speakers, Congressmen, magazines, meetings—the press is the most powerful, probably influences 90% of the people, and of the 2000 dailies and 10,000 weeklies, the 600 publications represented in the publishers' convention in NY last week are the most influential.

Whether or not the reader is an interventionist, isolationist, pacifist or neutralitarian, the fact remains that he will be propagandized by many forces in the next few fateful weeks, and the greatest attack will come from the few men who got their cue from Sec'y Knox.

Some publishers (Hearst, McCormick of Chi Trib, Patterson of NYD News for example) are isolationists, most of the others are interventionists, but the main fact is that the publishers themselves are being subjected to pressure, just as they are in dictatorial lands. Just before Knox launched his convoy trial balloon before the ANPA, Jesse H Jones, Sec'y of Commerce and Texas publisher, addressed Associated Press. Sample headline: PRESS IS URGED BY JESSE JONES TO AROUSE US (NYD Mirror April 22). Four days earlier newspapers frontpaged similar Roosevelt warning: PRESIDENT WARNS WE ARE NOT AWARE OF NATION'S PERIL. One amazing statement by Jones: "Maybe we can't be invaded but we might be isolated economically, and that would inevitably lead to war. Trade outlets are the cause of most wars."

Almost every day readers will get big headlines such as: US CONVOYS URGED BY MRS HARRIMAN, and again, LEGION HEAD URGES WE CONVOY GOODS. The result (as PM reported April 21): "Increasing sentiment in various parts of the USA in favor of convoys was reported by several newspaper publishers . . . arriving here for the annual meeting of the AP and ANPA."

IN FACT believes that its readers, isolationist or interventionist, should know the truth about how national public opinion originates: it is the mightiest force in the country.

Documentation: Force of Public Opinion

There may be hidden forces behind the press—dictators, political parties, advertising agencies, the National Association of Manufacturers, pressure groups—and these occult forces may be stronger than the newspapers, but generally speaking it is accepted as a fact that the press makes public opinion.

Documentation:

1) "Our government rests in public opinion. Whoever can change public opinion can change the government practically as much."—Lincoln.

2) "The newspapers mostly create public opinion."—Kaiser Wilhelm. (Fay, Origins of the World War, vol 1, p 268.)

3) "The daily press has more power in the shaping of public opinion than any other force in America."—Jerome D Barnum, president, American Newspaper Publishers Association (Institute of Public Affairs, Charlottesville, July 1936).

4) "Wars frequently have been declared in the past with the backing of the nations involved because public opinion had been influenced through the press and through other mediums, either by the governments themselves or by certain powerful interests which desired war.

"Could that be done again today in our country, or have we become suspicious of the written word and the inspired message? I think that as a people we look for motives more carefully than we did in the past, but whether issues could be clouded for us is one of the questions that no one can answer until the test comes. . . . I am inclined to think that if a question as serious as going to war was presented to our nation we should demand facts unvarnished by interpretation. Whether we, even in our democracy, could obtain them is another question."—Mrs F D Roosevelt (several years before the present crisis).

5) "The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first objective should be to keep that right; and were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."—Jefferson.

6) "The Constitution . . . was created by men of property. . . . Education had at the time not yet become general, nor suffrage anywhere universal. Property was, with rare exceptions, the qualification for leadership. Yet it is a mistake to suppose that the framers of the document gave thought to their own interests only. They were aware of the rumblings of democracy, and they heeded them. While they distrusted the rule of the people, they appraised the force of public opinion."—Osmond K Fraenkel, civil liberties lawyer.

What Gallup Poll Shows

On May 29 1940 the NYTimes, a Gallup subscriber, published this sensational headline: WAR SENTIMENT SEEN RISING IN US. But the Gallup Poll story showed that 93% of the people were against declaring war, compared to a maximum of 96.5% against war which the poll had shown in December 1939. But in September 1939 the poll had been 94%, and since Dr Gallup always allows for two or three percent error, there was practically no difference in the polls, and no reason for the Times headline except wishful thinking.

As 1940 drew to an end even the partial neutrality and objectivity of the

bitter campaign waged by the press against new pure food and drug legislation had no relation to the tremendous volume of advertising purchased by the manufacturers and purveyors of patent and proprietary medicines?"

In conclusion Prof Odegard (Amherst) discussed proposals to help the press, said maybe PM, NY's new ad-less daily, has the answer. Perhaps this is the reason commercial newspapers suppressed Prof Odegard.

Press in World War I

IN the first World War the American press, with few exceptions, went over to the Allied side, published thousands of atrocity stories, most of which later proved false, and swung the public opinion for war entry. (Documentation: "How We Advertised America" by Creel; "Words that Won the War" by Mock and Larson.)

Britain and Germany bought up editors and papers throughout the world. The Greek press was bought by Northcliffe. Germany bought up NYDaily Mail whose editor, Rumeley, later went to jail. The French bought up a Socialist journalist named B Mussolini, paid him a monthly subsidy. (Documentation, "Sawdust Caesar," pp. 390-395.)

No American editors were bought up by the Allies. After the war Sir Gilbert Parker, books such as "Secrets of Crewe House," and recent "Propaganda in the Next War" by Rogerson, explained that hundreds of leading British statesmen, writers, propagandists including Somerset Maugham and H G Wells, visited publishers, won them over easily.

One of the results was the publication of a tremendously sensational series of articles alleging Entente espionage and sabotage and conspiracy in America, written by John Rathom of Providence Journal and syndicated everywhere. The NYWorld dropped them suddenly as fraud, but this propaganda had tremendous effect.

Callaway's Charges

IN 1917 Rep Callaway of Texas made a sensational statement which, publishers say, has never been substantiated. Neither has it been proved false. The only corroborating evidence is the statement by Thomas W Lamont (in his biography of Morgan Partner Davison) that the House of Morgan did everything it could for the Allies from the first day of the war, and the 1934-5 disclosures by the Nye-Vandenberg Committee that the Morgan financial set-up did more to get us in the war than all other forces. The Callaway statement:

"Mr. Callaway: Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record a statement that I have of how the newspapers of this country have been handled by the munition manufacturers. . . .

"In March, 1915, the J. P. Morgan interests, the steel, shipbuilding, and powder interests, and their subsidiary organizations, got together 12 men high up in the newspaper world and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States and a sufficient number of them to control generally the policy of the daily press of the United States.

"These 12 men worked the problem out by selecting 179 newspapers, and then began, by an elimination process, to retain only those necessary for the purpose of controlling the general policy of the daily press throughout the country. They found it was only necessary to purchase the control of 25 of the greatest papers. These 25 papers were agreed upon; emissaries were sent to purchase the policy, national and international, of these papers; an agreement was reached; the policy of the papers was bought, to be paid for by the month; an editor was furnished for each paper to prop-

erly supervise and edit information regarding the questions of preparedness, militarism, financial policies, and other things of national and international nature considered vital to the interests of the purchasers.

"This contract is in existence at the present time, and it accounts for the news columns of the daily press of the country being filled with all sorts of preparedness arguments and misrepresentations as to the present conditions of the United States Army and Navy, and the possibility and probability of the United States being attacked by foreign foes.

"This policy also included the suppression of everything in opposition to the wishes of the interests served. The effectiveness of this scheme has been conclusively demonstrated by the character of stuff carried in the daily press throughout the country since March, 1915. They have resorted to anything necessary to commercialize public sentiment and sandbag the National Congress into making extravagant and wasteful appropriations for the Army and Navy under the false pretense that it was necessary. Their stock argument is that it is 'patriotism.' They are playing on every prejudice and passion of the American people." (Congressional Record, Feb. 9, 1917.)

What People Can Do

WHEN IN FACT showed its readers that protests to Federal Communications Commission and big radio broadcasting stations can get retractions for libels, lies and slanders—in this case Rep Leland Ford of California slandered the CIO—it also suggested protesting similar attacks in commercial press. Too often the attitude of labor leaders (also minority groups, religious sects, small political organizations) has been that it is useless to protest because the corrupt press is definitely against them.

Now James Blackwell, editor of Voice of Labor, Cumberland Md, sends us an example which should profit minority groups, notably labor. The Cumberland Evening Times wrote untrue reports and editorials attacking the CIO and miners' leader John L. Lewis. The miners held mass meeting, sent a delegation to protest, and got a complete, abject retraction headed: WE BEG PARDON, MR LEWIS.

The interview, Blackwell writes, was both instructive and productive. It developed the fact that the editorial writer was completely ignorant of the coal negotiations; it shows "with what complete unconcern and indifference a newspaper editor can try and libel a labor leader. It showed that when the man wrote 'public opinion' . . . that the 'public opinion' was in reality a private opinion of a grossly misinformed newspaper man."

Publisher Arrested

ONE of IN FACT's first subscribers, Rosa Pringle, suggested last year that we investigate Fortuny's Publishers. She claimed that this house ran a poetry contest, then asked poets to pay more than a dollar a line before poems could compete. April 19 Carlo M. Flumiani, graduate of University of Milan, was indicted by Federal grand jury charged with fraud in accepting manuscripts.

In the publicity which Miss Pringle sent us appeared a list of notables who

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American press also ended. The press began its campaign for aid to the Allies "short of war." October 13 Gallup reported a sharp increase in numbers who favored aid to England at the risk of war. Gallup figured that among voters the score would be 35,000,000 to 7,000,000 who favored getting in; or 83% to 17% among the general public. Three months earlier the vote was 15% to go in, 85% to stay out.

The latest Gallup Poll (April 26) shows how public opinion changes. In Oct 1939 of people who had opinions 46% said America would get into the war; in May 1940 the number rose to 62%, but fell to 59% in December. But Jan 1941 showed 72%, Feb showed 74%, March-April 80% and Mid-April 82%.

Administration Admits Public Opinion Lagging

If you subscribe to the \$5 or \$25-a-year Washington newsletters you knew months ago that the Administration, Republican and Democratic leaders, Dollar-a-Year Men, were worried over the public opinion of America. Now even pro-interventionist Time, which calls the Gallup Poll's 79% against sending army abroad, and report by 12 Congressmen of increased peace sentiment "currents of defeatism," admits (April 28, page 15) that devout adherents of the President's foreign policy said "the 'morale' of the US was bad. . . . Washington believed that around the cracker barrels the talk was all isolation, defeatism, apathy. How much fact was there in the Washington fancy? Those who read could see that the US press was almost solidly for effective aid to Britain, criticized the Gov't principally because US aid was not effective enough. Throughout the US were reports of a general lack of enthusiasm. The evidence was that the country felt far more enthusiastic about isolation than it was unenthusiastic about US foreign policy." Milwaukee was first in isolationist thinking, Chicago second.

Official Washington, reported NYT April 24, "has been veering toward an attitude of inevitability regarding convoying by the Navy." What was stopping convoys? It was "the opinion in some circles that the Administration is only awaiting assurances as to public opinion. . . . If these assurances are not apparent soon in unmistakable degree, a frank bid will be made for them through some proposal to Congress. . . . The administration is said to be studying public opinion on this question more than it has on any other subject thus far connected with the war. The President is said to be determined not to take a step so dangerous in its implication without convincing evidence of overwhelming public support."

Publishers Hear Anti-Labor Report

In addition to a few public meetings, such as the one Knox addressed, the ANPA held many secret sessions, at one of which its annual anti-labor report was read.

Up to recently the publishers had two anti-labor committees, one devoted to fighting labor in general, the other devoted to strike-breaking. The latter, the Open Shop Department, had headquarters in Philada Public Ledger Bldg; its chairman was Charles W Webb of Asheville Citizen-Times and its directors were: Norman Chandler, Los Angeles Times, H H Conland, New Hartford Courant, J B Costello, Lewiston (Me) Sun, L K Nicholson, New Orleans Times-Picayune, Robert L Smith, Charleston Gazette, J G Stahlman, Nashville Banner, J S Parks, Ft. Smith American, J L Sturtevant, Wausau (Wis) Record-Herald, J E Styles, Nassau Daily Review (NY) and E R Whitrod, Montreal Daily Star.

The man who ran an outfit of 200 strikebreakers and goons was H W Flagg. Among "Black" Flagg's employees was J C Packard, alias Weaver, a convicted burglar.

The Byrnes law, which prohibits the interstate shipment of strikebreakers, put an end to overt activity by the Flagg outfit, but the International Typographical Union informs IN FACT that Flagg still does strikebreaking, using scabs found within the state. The ITU says the 36 scabs at the Easton (Pa) Express are Flagg's men, and that Flagg, who used to sign reports urging American publishers to defy labor because he could break any strike in the country, now reports orally, so that no record is kept of strikebreaking. Nowadays publishers have regional agreements, so that scabs are supplied by Philadelphia (for example) to any town in the state.

The present ANPA anti-labor outfit is called the Special Standing Committee. Year after year its report contains every anti-labor phrase familiar to readers of the Fascist press. This year it is toned down. Nevertheless it speaks of "provocative agents," of "opportunistic pressure for wage increases," it brands the "upward spiral in wages in defense industry" as "alarming," says, "The problem challenges the attention and thought of every employer and every person who may influence public opinion because wage increases threaten to become the most persuasive influence whose consequence we loosely call inflation."

The anti-labor report further states that "the events and statistics of the last year as reported hereafter support the thought that growing radicalism within the ranks of local unions and ill-timed jumps in wage costs will continue to require close attention. . . . So whatever happens to current railroad or miner negotiations, it should not be permitted to open a new series of increases in the newspaper business. . . . Of 60 Guild contracts renewed, 40, or 67%, allowed no changes [i.e., increases] in wages. . . . Nor are agreements being made through which employers obligate themselves to make pay allowances during leaves of absence for military service."

So much for the report as issued. Heywood Broun, who once told the story

of what goes on at the secret sessions, said it was all business, money, advertising, labor-hating, over which floated the sacred emblem of freedom of the press. The present meetings are still secret, after which a piece of propaganda is handed the newspaper men supposed to cover the event. This is one case, however, where no bright brave reporter disguises himself as a waiter and gets the inside story. No newspaper wants this inside story.

Publishers' Anti-Social or Fascist Program

Up to 1935, when the Newspaper Guild became a power, the ANPA boasted of its strikebreaking. Since the only means of effective criticism (or attack) was the press, and that would not be used, the publishers made no secret of their anti-social activities. This is the record, for example, for the year 1935:

- 1) Fought all issues where their profits were involved.
- 2) Led the attack against a real pure food and drug law.
- 3) Opposed Wagner Act, the Magna Carta of labor.
- 4) Urged amendment of proposed social insurance legislation putting newspapers in a special class.
- 5) Proposed compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, the outlawing of strikes. (Note: this is 100% fascism.)
- 6) Favored continuation of child labor.

In the 1935 annual report urging these reactionary and fascist actions the ANPA was told to "be constantly alert and vigilant if their properties are not to be destroyed or irreparably injured" by progressive or New Deal legislation. Property, not public welfare, was the complete program of the ANPA. (Documentation: "Lords of the Press," Chapter 1.) According to journalism historian A McK Lee, the ANPA "has sometimes been a powerful adjunct in legislative circles to the lobbies of the US Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the trade associations of specific industries."

Latest Exposure of Publishers' Venality

Prof Lee wrote his book (The Newspaper in America) before the Temporary National Economic Committee (Monopoly Investigation) wrote an even greater indictment of the ANPA. Its Monograph 26 (fully reported in IN FACT March 31, after general suppression in newspapers) states plainly that the National Ass'n of Manufacturers lobby is more powerful than all organizations, that the NAM, Chamber of Commerce, Big Business rule and own the country, using the Bar Ass'n and the ANPA as instruments.

The publishers annually have reported on their actions antagonistic to labor. Monograph 26 shows how Big Business employs the press, radio, etc, to put over its own viewpoint (page 26), how it favored repeal of NLRA, etc, argued against regulation of hours of labor by law, demanded repeal of wage-hour law (p 32) and advocated the open shop (p 32).

"The economic power of business and the educational persuasiveness of its newspaper, advertising and legal allies, enabled it between the years 1933 and 1937 to frustrate the initial efforts of the Federal Government to regulate labor relations." (p 81)

In the fight for pure food and drugs, and against false advertising, poison, harmful medication, and economic waste, the press has stood by the patent medicine men on all occasions. Says Monograph 26: "Units of the industries affected are spread all over the country. . . . Hence almost every legislator has in his district some interest, aside from consumers, affected by the legislation. The Vick Chemical Co of North Carolina and the Lambert Pharmaceutical Co of St Louis were represented in the crusading zeal of Senators Bailey (NC) and Clark (Mo) to combat bureaucracy. . . . Another important factor was the little publicity given to the legislation in the press. Newspapers had apparently been led to believe that it was a menace to advertising. However, the pressure brought to bear by consumer organizations, women's associations, etc, did much to retain in the legislation provisions of real benefit to the consumer. Business pressure was brought to bear during consideration of the Food & Drug Act to maintain the value of advertising to business without regard to the consumers' interest." Finally, in 1938 the publishers got an amendment "exempting them from any liability in cases of misrepresentation."

A MESSAGE TO TRADE UNION MEMBERS

IN THE presentation of news which is wilfully and maliciously distorted and suppressed by the commercial press (because it represents special interests, most of them anti-labor and anti-liberal), In Fact finds itself more and more presenting the side of labor. This is natural because all progress, all real democracy, is dependent upon the labor movement. In Fact's special field is to produce evidence of the unfairness of the general press towards labor and to encourage a labor press and a pro-labor press.

It is natural that In Fact should look for the bulk of its subscribers from organized labor. Although the largest part of our 130,000 subscribers are union members, there are still millions of members of unions who are influenced by the corrupt commercial press. They don't yet understand that the press distorts nearly all news as well as labor news. They are the ones who should be reading In Fact, for a union member who is aware of present-day problems is a better union member.

We hope with a quarter million circulation to become a great pro-labor force in America, and we ask your help. We are for labor. You will be doing yourself a service by getting other members of your union to subscribe.

constituted an editorial advisory board of Fortuny's Book-Discussion Club, including Boake Carter and General Hugh S Johnson.

Flumiani is accused of taking \$250,000 from authors who wanted their books published; it is also alleged that his advertising was false.

What Willkie Said

EITHER Wendell Willkie has no memory, or he is a strange publicity seeker. He recently accused Bishop Shaughnessy of Seattle of attacking his reputation. The bishop had said that a supposedly honorable "Christian gentleman" in the last campaign had later dismissed his anti-war speeches as "campaign oratory" and, according to the bishop, "Lying is thus enthroned before us as a public good." Willkie got the front page with a demand for an apology. The actual transcript of hearings before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on the Lease-Lend Bill shows that when Sen Nye asked if Willkie had charged that President Roosevelt, in accordance with "past performances with pledges to the people" would get the US into war by April 1941 if elected, Willkie replied: "It was a bit of campaign oratory." (Hearings, Feb 11, Page 905, Part III.)

Mr Willkie also said that FDR in a Brooklyn speech employed "the tactic of Lenin, the strategy of Hitler and the preaching of Trotsky . . . to stir up class hatred and divide our people." (United Press, Nov 2.)

Mr Willkie also said: "The rich have already been exhausted as a fruitful source of tax revenue." (Pittsburgh speech April 25 1941.)

In 1939, when Willkie was being boomed as the only liberal in Big Business, Willkie denounced the Dies red-baiting committee for destroying reputations "by publicity, by inference and by innuendo" and for "undermining the democratic process."

Anti-Fascists Dying

FROM the little that US correspondents are permitted to see, it is evident that thousands in Petain's concentration camps in France are permitted to die from disease and hunger. Others, notably the best anti-Fascist fighters of the International Brigade, are being shipped to Africa to work on the roads, which is little better than slavery.

Shortly before Yugoslavia joined Britain, the British gov't refused clearance papers for the freighter Lovcen to bring Spanish refugees to Mexico. The ship's owner, a Yugoslav, was alleged to have aided Italy. Now persons hoping to save anti-Fascist fighters propose that relief ships taking food to France be used to bring refugees to safety. However, it is reported that British insist that ships must return to America empty. (Source: NYTimes April 23.)

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